

Message Text

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APPROVED BY P:JSISCO

AF:TSEELYE

S/S:A. OTTO

IO:JBAKER

S:RWAHERNE

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 106901 TOSEC 110570

EXDIS: PARIS FOR ASSIST.SECRETARY LEWIS

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UNSC, AO

SUBJECT: ACTION MEMORANDUM - APPLICATION FOR UN MEMBER-
SHIP BY THE MPLA (S/S NO. 7609106) .

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AF-SEELYE AND IO-BAKER THRU SISCO

1. THE PROBLEM:

THE MPLA HAS SUBMITTED AN APPLICATION FOR UN MEMBERSHIP AS
THE GOVERNMENT OF ANGOLA TO SYG WALDHEIM. THE SECURITY
COUNCIL COULD BE ASKED TO MEET TO CONSIDER THE APPLICATION
AS EARLY AS TUESDAY MAY 4. WE NEED VOTING INSTRUCTIONS.

2. BACKGROUND:

ON FRIDAY APRIL 30, THE MPLA APPLIED FOR UN MEMBERSHIP AS
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THE GOVERNMENT OF ANGOLA. THE APPLICATION WAS SENT TO THE

SECRETARY GENERAL AND WILL SOON BE FORWARDED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL FOR CONSIDERATION. FRANCE BECAME SC PRESIDENT ON MAY 1.

EVEN IF THE COUNCIL APPROVES THE MPLA APPLICATION, ANGOLA WILL NOT FORMALLY BE ADMITTED TO THE UN UNTIL THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY APPROVES THE APPLICATION THIS FALL (UNLESS A SPECIAL SESSION IS CALLED). THE MPLA WILL, HOWEVER, BE

ADMITTED TO THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION AND UNCTAD NEXT WEEK. WE HAVE INSTRUCTED OUR DELEGATIONS TO ABSTAIN IF A VOTE IS TAKEN ON THE MPLA ADMISSION BY THESE TWO ORGANIZATIONS. WHILE MPLA ADMISSION INTO THESE AGENCIES IS ON A STRAIGHT MAJORITY VOTE AND THUS BEYOND OUR CONTROL, WE DO HAVE THE VETO IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL. OUR OPTIONS FOR ACTION ON THE MPLA APPLICATION IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL, THEREFORE, ARE THREE: SUPPORT, VETO OR ABSTAIN.

3. THE OPTIONS:

A. VOTE FOR MPLA APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

OUR VOTE WOULD NOT CONSTITUTE AN ACT OF RECOGNITION (AND WE COULD SO STATE). THERE IS ADEQUATE PRECEDENT FOR CONCURRING IN UN MEMBERSHIP ON THE PART OF STATES WITH WHICH WE DO NOT HAVE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, FOR EXAMPLE GUINEA BISSAU, MOZAMBIQUE, SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE AND THE COMOROS. NEVERTHELESS, AN AFFIRMATIVE VOTE WOULD BE GENERALLY INTERPRETED AS A SHIFT IN U.S. POLICY ON THE MPLA DESPITE THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF CUBAN TROOPS AND DESPITE ANY U.S. EXPLANATION OF VOTE WHICH CALLED FOR THEIR DEPARTURE.

B. VETO THE MPLA APPLICATION.

A VETO WOULD DRAMATICALLY EMPHASIZE OUR POSITION ON NON-RECOGNITION OF THE MPLA. OUR ACT COULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY A STATEMENT THAT THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF CUBAN FORCES MAKES ANGOLA LESS THAN INDEPENDENT. A VETO, HOWEVER, WOULD BE HEAVILY CRITICIZED IN THE COUNCIL

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AND IN AFRICA AND WOULD UNDERMINE THE POSITIVE ACHIEVEMENTS OF YOUR TRIP. IT WOULD CONTRAST SHARPLY WITH THE OVERWHELMING SUPPORT THE MPLA APPLICATION WILL RECEIVE BY THE NON-ALIGNED AND EVEN BY OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES. A VETO WOULD POINT UP THE CUBAN ROLE BUT IN SO DOING CREATE IMPRESSION THAT ALL MEMBERS OF THE SC -- EXCEPT THE U.S. -- ARE WILLING TO ACCEPT AND LEGITIMIZE THE CUBAN/SOVIET ROLE IN ANGOLA.

C. ABSTAIN ON THE MPLA APPLICATION.

AN ABSTENTION WOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH OUR POSITION OF NON-RECOGNITION OF THE MPLA. AN ABSTENTION WOULD PROBABLY AVOID A BITTER DEBATE IN WHICH THE CUBANS AND

SOVIETS COULD GAIN PROPAGANDA ADVANTAGE. IF WE WISHED WE COULD MAKE A SHORT STATEMENT POINTING OUT OUR CONTINUING NON-RECOGNITION OF THE MPLA AND THE URGENT NEED FOR THE CUBANS TO WITHDRAW FROM ANGOLA. HOWEVER, OUR CURRENT ESTIMATE IS THAT ONLY COMPANY WE MIGHT FIND IN THIS POSTURE WOULD BE CHICOMS. CHICOMS HAVE TOLD FRENCH UN MISSION THEY HAVE "NO PROBLEMS" WITH APPLICATION.

4. BUREAU VIEWS:

ABSTENTION WOULD NOT ONLY BE CONSISTENT WITH THE POSITION TAKEN IN OTHER UN FORUMS BUT ALSO WITH THE POSITION WHICH YOU ARTICULATED IN YOUR MONROVIA SPEECH. IT WOULD AVOID THE CONTROVERSY OF A VETO AND THE DANGER OF HAVING A POSITIVE VOTE MISUNDERSTOOD AS ACQUIESCENCE IN THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF THE CUBANS. DEPENDING ON WHAT OUR SPOKESMAN SAYS IN NEW YORK, ABSTENTION CAN CONVEY A NEUTRAL OR EVEN A POSITIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD NORMALIZED RELATIONS WITH THE MPLA.

WE ARE IN NO POSITION, HOWEVER, TO FACTOR IN THE DEVELOPMENTS ASSOCIATED WITH YOUR AFRICAN TRIP. WHILE THERE ARE SOME INDICATIONS THAT MPLA IS NOW EXAMINING CUBAN TROOP LEVELS, WHICH, IF TRUE, WOULD RESPOND TO OUR EXPRESSED CONCERNS, THERE IS STILL NO CONCRETE EVIDENCE OF CUBAN WITHDRAWAL. AN AFFIRMATIVE U.S. VOTE
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IN THIS CONTEXT WOULD BE INTERPRETED AS A FURTHER SIGNIFICANT GESTURE ON OUR PART, RESPONDING BOTH TO MPLA AND GENERAL AFRICAN SENSIBILITIES. ON THE BASIS OF WHAT WE KNOW HERE, WE DO NOT FIND ANY JUSTIFICATION FOR A GESTURE TOWARD THE MPLA OF THIS KIND.

5. RECOMMENDATION: THAT YOU AUTHORIZE US TO INSTRUCT USUN TO ABSTAIN WITH AN EXPLANATION WHICH IS FORTHCOMING REGARDING NORMALIZED RELATIONS WITH ANGOLA BUT NOTES THE CONTINUING U.S. POSTURE OF REFRAINING FROM RECOGNITION WHILE CUBAN TROOPS ARE IN THE COUNTRY AND URGES THEIR DEPARTURE. (IO, AF, GOV. SCRANTON)

APPROVE

DISAPPROVE

ALTERNATIVELY, THAT YOU AUTHORIZE US TO INSTRUCT USUN
TO VOTE IN FAVOR OF THE MPLA APPLICATION FOR
MEMBERSHIP IN THE UN.

APPROVE DISAPPROVE

IN ADDITION, THAT WE INSTRUCT USUN TO MAKE A SHORT STATE-
MENT THAT OUR SUPPORT IN NO WAY CHANGES OUR POSITION
ON NON-RECOGNITION OF THE MPLA OR OUR STANCE ON THE
PRESENCE OF CUBAN TROOPS IN ANGOLA.

APPROVE DISAPPROVE

ALTERNATIVELY, THAT WE VETO MPLA MEMBERSHIP.

APPROVE DISAPPROVE

6. DEPENDING ON YOUR DECISION, WE WILL PREPARE DRAFT
REMARKS FOR GOVERNOR SCRANTON AND SEND THEM TO YOU FOR
YOUR APPROVAL.

7. DRAFTED BY IO/UNP-MR. HELMAN AND MR. TEFFT; CLEARED
BY AF AND IOAND S-AHERNE. AUTHORIZED BY SISCO. SISCO

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